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The voyage of
Hanno.

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THE VOYAGE OF HANNO

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RENDEL HARRIS

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THE VOYAGE OF HANNO.

(WOODBROOKE ESSAYS, No. 18.)

There is already in existence a small library of works which deal with what is called the *Periplus* of Hanno the Carthaginian, and are occupied either with the interpretation of his text or the identification of the places on the West Coast of Africa which he describes, and the colonies which he founded. It was the greatest of all the colonial ventures of antiquity; single ships might have made voyages of discovery before the date 506 B.C. to which the *Periplus* is assigned; small squadrons, perhaps, in the manner of Columbus, might have been directed to sail round a continent or to discover islands mythical or real; but all such ventures are insignificant compared with a fleet of sixty great ships, carrying with them as many as 30,000 souls, both men and women, with all the necessary provisions for the voyage, and apparatus for the structure of a new world. It is difficult to realise the enthusiasm which must have inspired the Carthaginian population, from the Senate which decreed the expedition and financed it, down to the people who joined in what our men of Devon would have called a "Westward Ho!" It almost takes one's breath away to think of such happenings, and so long ago. Even if we reduce the numbers it is still a colossal venture.

As we have said, there is a small library extant which deals with the subject, and we might very readily assent to the over-burdened reader of classical literature, if he should protest against any further addition being made either to the study of the text or the comments upon it. We may freely admit that there is not a great deal to be said on the textual side. It exists in a single MS. in the Palatine Library of the University of Heidelberg (Cod. Pal. Graec. 398) from which we have been kindly furnished with photographs of the three pages of tenth century Greek which contain the story of Hanno. These we have reproduced both in transcript and in facsimile; the reader can now compare the text with that which is printed in Müller's *Geographi*

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Graeci Minores, and I think he will agree with me that there is no call for another text, which cannot be a better, except the call of the poor scholar who cannot afford to purchase so expensive a work as that of Müller. That is our reason for reproducing the text in a cheap and handy form. Our real reason, however, for meddling with the matter does not concern itself with the text, nor would we have undertaken the re-digesting of the various commentaries which have dealt with Hanno, most of which task is admirably done in the footnotes of Müller, where we are told what to reject and what to endorse of prior speculations, if it had not been that, in our judgment, there was a great hiatus in the treatment of the subject. The commentators have treated Hanno as if he corresponded to the Ancient Mariner in Coleridge's poem, who declared that

> "We were the first that ever burst
> Into that silent sea;"

whereas a little reflection would have shown that it was a sheer impossibility that the expedition of Hanno had no antecedents, and that so great a venture should have had no smaller attempts to act as historical pilots to Carthage when she went *en masse* to sea. Indeed, the very first problem that confronted the commentators, was to decide whether Hanno's language about laying the foundation of colonies did, or did not, imply the re-inforcement of existing settlements. If, however, we recognise the existence of prior colonies, whether Phœnician, Cretan, Carthaginian, or whatever may be imagined, we have opened the gate to a very wide field of inquiry. Who were the first colonists of the Atlantic seaboard? It was from the study of Hanno's own tale that we came to the conclusion that the coast had long before Hanno's day been dotted with Egyptian colonies, and that the Admiralty charts which he studied in his cabin were based upon Egyptian documents of a very early date. It follows, of course, if these speculations and discoveries of ours have even a partial validity, that a new edition of the *Periplus* should be attempted, with a view to their incorporation and their further possible development. That is the object of the present essay. It is the foreword to the prolegomena of such an edition.

It may very well be imagined that the task of finding out Egyptian antecedents of the Carthaginian colonisation of West Africa is one which is not likely to result in any definite achievement; especially

when we only know the stages of Hanno's voyage through the medium of a Greek translation. Can we re-translate our text into the original Punic form, such as was inscribed on the walls of the Temple at Carthage, with such a degree of certainty that our lost and recovered Punic text will betray the equally lost and apparently irrecoverable forms which may conceivably underlie the names of places which Hanno visited or re-visited ? It is one thing to get back to Semitic speech and to make corresponding Semitic explanations of places and names on the Hanno chart. Quite another thing to detect prior and perhaps Egyptian forms lurking under Tyrian dresses.

There is another direction in which we may be landed in serious difficulty in the interpretation of the document before us. We are not sure that we have in the Greek form the whole of what Hanno wrote. Sometimes the text is diffuse, at others it is unnaturally succinct. At one time we follow the voyagers from point to point, with distances noted from the log-book, and the compass directions of sailing, and such observations of the character of shores and inhabitants as are helpful even to-day, in reconstructing the maps of the voyage ; at other times names are hurried over in a group, with no log-book distances, and we are left to guess where the places alluded to occur, in relation to one another or to the whole scheme of the exploration. What are we to make, for instance, of such a sentence as this, near the beginning of the voyage ?

> "We passed the lagoon, and after a day's sail we settled the colonies on the seaboard which go by the names of the Carian Wall, Gytte, Akra, Melitta and Arambys."

Here are no less than five cities, new or renewed, on the sea-coast, disposed of in a single sentence. This is not the usual style in which Admiral Hanno writes ; it is evident abbreviation. If we admit this to have occurred in so obvious a sequence, we can hardly avoid the suspicion that similar abbreviations may underlie the text elsewhere. Nor are we without ground for such suspicion, in respect of our extant Greek text ; for we shall see reasons to believe that those early writers, who draw so freely upon Hanno's materials, both in Greek and Latin, appear at times to be working from a longer text, and to have some names of places in their African geography, which might very well have come from a longer text of Hanno than that which we possess.

On that point we may expect to get further light as we proceed. We may find more of Hanno and ultimately of Egypt, in the original *Periplus* than we at first imagined.

We are not proposing, in the following pages, to make a commentary on the *Periplus*, in the approved style of classical tradition ; our object is, as we have already intimated, to demonstrate and to fill up a hiatus in the existing commentaries without repeating all that has been well said on the subject, or contradicting all that has been ill said or had better been left unsaid. The hiatus is the non-recognition of Egyptian antecedents in the *Periplus*. We shall proceed at once to the demonstration of that thesis ; in so doing we shall have to repeat some arguments that have already been stated in the tract called *St. Bees*.[1] We shall examine over again three cases betrayed by the *Periplus* of Egyptian influence in West Africa.

After passing the Straits of Gibraltar, and Tangier (which we imagine to have been an important station in early navigation, and in occupation of the Carthaginians at the time), the fleet coasted Africa till they came to a place where they established their first colony, and called it by the name of

THYMIATERIUM

or

THE ALTAR OF INCENSE.

It was two days' sail from the Straits, was apparently situated on an eminence, with a great plain below it. From the distance run, and the necessary inference that some sort of harbour and anchorage was found there, it has been recognised that the city with the peculiar name was at the mouth of the river, which on the modern maps is called *Sebu*. Greek and Latin writers, who are under the influence of the *Periplus*, call the river *Subur*, from which we have conjectured the primitive form

Seb-ur.

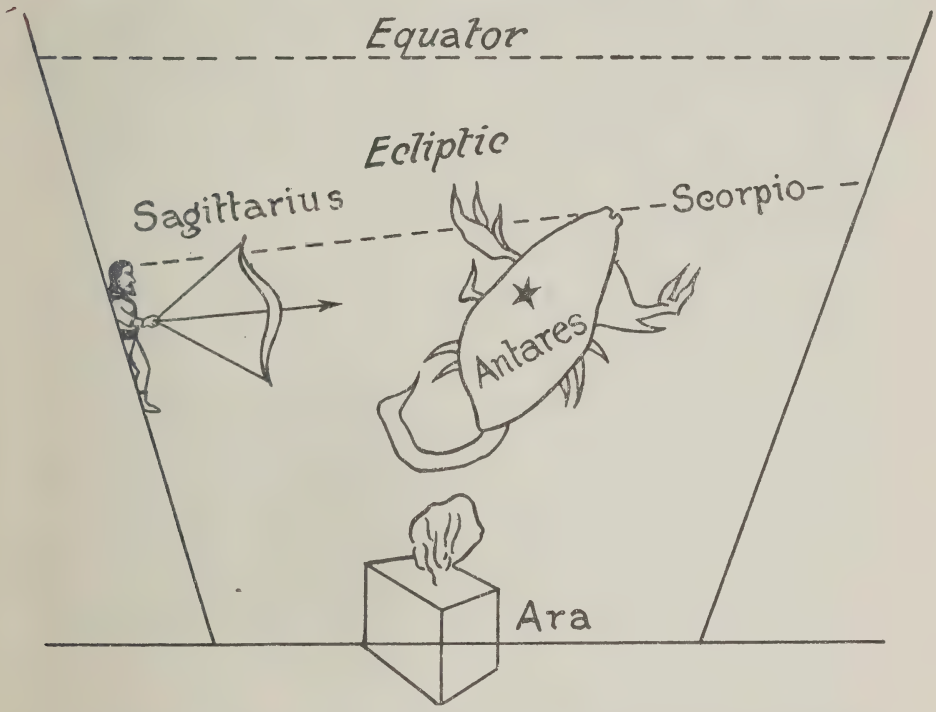
Writing the word in that way with a hyphen of division, we have before us an obviously Egyptian word meaning

Great-Star.

The word, when not divided, is the name of one of the instruments employed in the Egyptian ceremony of the *Opening of the Mouth*,

[1] Woodbrooke Essays, No 16. (Cambridge : Heffer.)

and it is written in hieroglyph with a prefixed star, to assist the imagination of the reader. So we have our first colony, the town of *Incense-Altar* situated on *Great Star* river. That looks irrational, unless we can find a reason for the assignment of the names. Why was the altar there, and what was the star? The questions caused me no little perplexity, for I like to regard Hanno as a reasonable being as well as a scholar and a gentleman; but the matter remained obscure until I noticed in the Astronomy of Ptolemy[1] that one of the Cf. p. 18.



leading constellations of the southern hemisphere was called *Thymiaterion*, and is, in fact, marked on our modern celestial globes by the name of *Ara*, the *Altar*, without specification of *Incense*. If the city was named after the asterism, the *Great Star* can only have been *Antares*; there is no other great star in the neighbourhood. The modern globes and star maps place Antares just outside *Ara*, but, as we shall see, this does not affect our argument. In fact, the boundaries of constellations are elastic. If there is a great star involved in the enquiry, it is *Antares*.

[1] *Syntaxis*, viii. p. 164.

Now we have shown elsewhere that the ordinary explanation of this peculiar name is fallacious. It has nothing to do with the planet Mars (*Ares*) either by comparison or contrariety. Mars does not stay in the neighbourhood in order that we may see that the colour of the star matches that of the planet. In Egyptian, however, if we desert Greek etymologies, *Anti-res* means *Incense of the South*, which puts the star at once into the constellation to which we have referred it. But now we can take a step farther. It may be asked why we talk of *Incense of the South*, when *Incense* would be sufficient. The answer is that the Egyptian priests in their ceremonies distinguished between *Incense of the South* and *Incense of the North*. If we turn to Budge's book on the *Opening of the Mouth*, we find that the Fifth Ceremony is described as the *Censing of the South*, and the Sixth as the *Censing of the North*. Of these ceremonies Budge notes as follows :—

> (Vol. I., p. 21) "The statue was censed with the incense of the South *par excellence*. The *semān* has not yet been satisfactorily identified, and though it has usually been considered to be a substance resembling the ordinary natron, it may well be something quite different. It appears to have been the characteristic incense of the South. The South was the half of the world believed to be the country of Horus, and it was certainly associated with him, just as the North was the country of Set.
>
> In the sixth ceremony the statue was censed in the Incense of the North, which . . . came from a place called *Shet pet* in the natron valley."

We have, in this reference to actual Egyptian customs and the terms describing Egyptian rituals, confirmed in an unexpected way the Egyptian explanation of the *Great Star* and its constellation *Thymiaterion*.

We may take it, then, as demonstrated that an Egyptian astronomy is lurking at the very beginning of the *Periplus*. We have the star and we have the constellation. If they do not exactly coincide in the sense that one includes the other, the reason probably lies in the encroachment of the Zodiac upon other star-groupings, which has carried off Antares into the sign of the Scorpion.

In abandoning former speculations of Greek etymology as to the

relation of Antares to Ares, on the ground of stellar colour or other significant features common to the planet and the star, we have left ourselves with an open field for the explanation of the Egyptian name given to the star itself. It is probable that some resemblance was detected between the star and a ball or large grain of reddish incense. Such an explanation would be adequate, and would remove an unnatural element from the stellar title.

The occurrence of the name of a particular star, in the place-naming of Hanno or those voyagers who preceded him, need not surprise us. The observation of the position of stars was habitual both for travellers by water or by land. It may have been the observation of a star that preceded sunrise, like the case of Sirius which was so important in Egyptian chronology, or it may have been the observation of a star that was on the meridian at midnight. We may be sure that the observation of stars and the assigning of names to them was a very early occupation of primitive man ; even at the present day the traveller in Central Africa is struck by the number of leading stars that are recognized by the native.

Sir Thomas Browne says (*Pseudodoxia*, c. 2, ed. Sayle, 1. 230)—

> "As for long expeditions and sundry voyages of elder times, which might confirm the antiquity of this invention (sc. the Compass) it is not improbable they were performed by the help of Stars ; and so might the Phœnicæan navigators, and also *Ulisses*, sâil about the Mediterranean by the flight of birds, or keeping near the shore ; and so might *Hanno* coast about Africa ; or by the help of Oars, as is expressed in the voyage of Jonah."

We may compare the observations made by the Portuguese navigators, as, for instance, in the account of Cadomosto the Venetian, who took charge of the ships which Prince Henry the Navigator sent to the Gambia. "When we were in the river of Gambra, once only did we see the North Star, which was so low that it seemed almost to touch the sea."

To make up for the loss of the Pole Star, sunk to the "third part of a lance's head above the edge of the water," Cadomosto and his men had a view of "six brilliant stars in form of a cross" while the June night was "of thirteen hours and the day of eleven." (We are transcribing from Prof. Beazley's account of *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 283.)

In the case of the Egyptians there is not only a more highly evolved astronomy than one might in advance have expected, but there was also a special reason for connecting terrestrial phenomena with celestial. There was a correspondence between the upper and lower worlds. If there was a Nile in Egypt, then there was also a celestial Nile connected with it. Other features might be noted, but the general principle would be that which is enunciated in the *Odes of Solomon* that "the likeness of that which is below is that which is above." The most remarkable case that we have come across is that which we have described in the Essay on *Watling Street*,[1] where the *Milky Way*, which is the road of the gods and the pilgrim route of souls on their way to Elysium, is shown to be reflected on the earth-plane in the ancient road (erroneously supposed to be Roman) which ran from Kent to the mouth of the Dee, and was also a Pilgrim Way.

We must not, then, be surprised if we detect an astronomical element in place-names; we shall have another case of it presently when we come to the termination of the *Periplus*, nor will that exhaust the matter. Egyptian deities and their associated stars will offer themselves elsewhere for recognition.

Now let us turn to a second Egyptian feature on the map of Hanno, to which we have already drawn attention in the tract on *St. Bees*. The instance is so striking and the conclusion drawn from it appears to be so incontrovertible, that some repetition may be excused.

We alluded above to a grouping of names in the *Periplus* which suggested that there had been some abbreviation in the document. Five towns, new or old, were grouped together, with no record of distances, and no traces of local colour. Their names were, Karian Wall, Gytta, Akra, Melitta, and Arambys. It is quite natural that the earliest commentators on the *Periplus* should have busied themselves in finding Semitic etymologies for these names. We are not prepared to say that they were more often wrong than right. Gytta was compared with Gittae, the native place of Simon the Witch of the New Testament; Akra was Greek, indeed, with possible Semitic connections, and it is curious that the name still subsists as one of the principal settlements on the Gold Coast; Melitta, again, might be claimed either by Greeks or Phœnicians. If the latter is the right

[1] Woodbrooke Essays No. 17. (Cambridge; Heffer.)

direction in which to look, why should they not be Hanno's own names? The one name of the group, however, which seemed to be most certainly that of a settlement or colony of Hanno was the one which went by the name of the Karian Wall. It was pointed out that the Carians were becoming active at the very time of Hanno's expedition both by land and by sea. They are well known as Egyptian mercenaries, for instance; and some of them went as far in the Egyptian service, as to reach the great temple at Abu Simbel, and inscribe their names on the colossal statue of Rameses. It was not unnatural, then, that they should have had a place in the great Carthaginian venture, and it could even be argued from the name Karian Wall, that they had been assigned to a colony of their own, and that the said colony was surrounded by hostile tribes so as to require special fortification and circumvallation. Hence the wall.

It fell to my lot to point out that the name in the *Periplus* involved neither Karians nor walls. It turns out, from the work of Stephanus of Byzantium on cities and countries, that one quarter of Memphis was called Καρικόν (Karian), and although Stephanus conjectures that Karian immigrants had settled there, speaking their own language and intermarrying with Egyptians, this need not be anything more than the geographer's fancy. Karikon may just as well survive in Kerak on the southern boundary of Moab as in the S.W. province of Anatolia. Moreover the Memphitic identification still left us with no explanation of the Wall. From the point of view of the Egyptologist, this makes no difficulty. When the Egyptian scribe writes the name of a fortress, a palace, or any other form of building, he draws at the end of the name a determinative sign, which is exactly a wall in the process of construction. In reading or translating, this determinative sign should, of course, be neglected. It is simply put there to assist the imagination of the reader. Karikon (Wall) means simply Karikon, which Stephanus told us was the name of one of the quarters of Memphis. We may, therefore, be fairly certain that the name of the colony which Hanno describes implies an original settlement from Memphis itself, and not from Carthage. Its proper place is on a *Periplus* of an earlier day than that of Hanno, and in making use of such a *Periplus*, the determinative sign has wrongly been attached to the name. In the course of this investigation we have gained a point for further advance in our study. If we have really established

the transference of an Egyptian name from Memphis to West Africa, we need not be surprised. Every English colony, and every Spanish or Portuguese colony tells the same story. Karik or Karikon is no more strange than if we should find Whitechapel or Southwark in New South Wales. In finding one such name, we may reasonably look for similar finds, just as when we found one star-name, we were prepared to find further traces of Egyptian astronomy. If we find further instances of such names, we shall be disposed to regard them as earlier than the time of Hanno. Egypt was in decline when Carthage was in the ascendant, and not in a position to assert itself as a colonial power in an aggressive sense. This observation will apply to a number of cases, which may or may not be capable of further confirmation. For instance, we pointed out in the tract on *St. Bees* that the Romans re-colonised a town on the coast of Morocco which went by the name of Banasa : that is the Coptic name of the city which the Greeks called Oxyrhyncus. In the same way we suggested that the name of Senegal was, perhaps, a transfer from an Egyptian village in the district of Oxyrhyncus, which is recorded in the Papyri as Senekelu. These are speculations, but they may intimate the direction in which we ought to look for further Egyptian identifications.

The reader will have noticed that we have been careful to reserve the rights of other possible colonists on the shores which we have been studying, such as might come under the head of Cretans, Phœnicians, or Hittites. As the matter of ancient colonisation is so interesting and historically so important, we propose to turn aside for a while from Hanno and his *Periplus*, to discuss a case which has caused us no little perplexity and of which we do not profess as yet to have a definite solution to propound.

The districts between the Senegal and the Gambia, as well as those beyond those two rivers, are a mass of forest lands intersected by waterways which become in the rainy season the equivalents of great rivers. It is by these waterways that the commerce of the districts is carried on : the French call them *marigots*. One can cross French territory from Portuguese to British without touching French soil. Amongst these waterways there is one which bears the striking name of

Yacoubel.

In a recent work by a French writer, named Rouch, on the coasts

of Senegal, we find the following account of an exploration of the river Casamance :—

> "Les principaux marigots sont, sur la rive droite, le marigot de Gambie et la rivière *Yacoubel:* sur la rive gauche, la rivière *Elıukin* et la rivière Cajinolle. . . . On sait à peu près quels pays traversent ces multiples cours de l'eau. Ils permettent de se rendre, par voie de l'eau, de la Gambie Anglaise en Guinée Portugaise . . . sans sortir en mer."—Rouch : *Sur les côtes de Sénégal*, p. 107.

The two names which we have italicised, are suspiciously Semitic in appearance. The former of them is referred to by Lasnet, *Une Mission au Sénégal*, p. 290 :—

> "Les hippopotames sont en voie d'extinction ; quelques bandes assez considérables peuplent les rizières qui bordent *l'Yacoubel.*"

The reader will, perhaps, need to be reminded that this peculiar name has been the subject of an acute controversy, on account of its occurrence on the walls of the great temple at Carnac.

The following references will be useful.

When Thothmes III. recorded on the walls at Carnac his victories in Palestine and Syria, and made a list of towns and fortresses subjugated by him, there occurred two names which attracted the attention of Biblical scholars, read as *Jacob-el* and *Joseph-el*. It can be readily understood that the discovery of two patriarchal names considered as divine, or at least theophoric, at such an early date (the sixteenth century B.C.) caused a flutter of excitement in theological circles. Various attempts were made to explain the forms away ; Flinders Petrie read the second form so as to identify with a place-name *Yeshaphur*, lying S.E. of Ashdod, and Cheyne reduced the first form to Abi-Cabool, whatever that may mean. Unless our Senegalese identification is altogether illusory, we may dismiss such conjectures as those to which we have referred, and say that *Yakoubel* is correctly read from the walls of Carnac, and that it appears to suggest a Semitic settlement in Senegal, especially when we notice in the neighbourhood another Semitic name *Elıukin* which is nearly Biblical in form.[1]

[1] For further details see *Records of the Past*, Series ii, vol. v. p. 51, No. 102 Yakbal; and p. 48, No. 78 Ishpal; and the various Bible Dictionaries under Jacob and Joseph.

The foregoing statement is really a parenthesis in our general argument, but it is a parenthesis with an intention. We want to emphasise the necessity of tracing strata in the colonisation of a new country : we must not limit our observation to Carthage, nor be satisfied with the detection of Egypt as prior to Carthage ; there may be, there must be, other and intervening strata. The same thing occurs in later times ; for we have Roman colonies in West Africa under the Empire, to say nothing of the Portuguese colonies of mediæval times. Every such epoch or epidemic of colonisation leaves its own deposit of place-names along the seaboard, makes its own mark, however transitory it may be, on African civilisation.

Now let us return to Hanno ; we have already deposited one ship load of colonists at the mouth of the river Sebu, and five other ship loads at points not identified (one of which was the site of a previous Memphite contingent), and we are now going to locate the other terminal of the voyage, and to find out where Hanno hoisted the signal for the return home. The description which Hanno has left us, that after leaving a certain island, which the interpreter said was known by the name of *Horn of the West* (Ἑσπέρου κέρας) they sailed by a shore that was marked by torrents of fire descending into the sea ; it was too hot to land, and after four days' sail they saw the flames of fire rising so high that they seemed to touch the sky. When day dawned they saw that it was a burning mountain known by the name of *Chariot of the Gods* (Θεῶν ὄχημα). Three days later they came into a bay called *Horn of the South* (Νότου κέρας) ; here they came across the Gorillas, of which they captured three female specimens, which they took back in the form of skins to Carthage, to be added, no doubt, to the Temple Museum. From that day they returned homeward. Their supplies were running out ; fresh water was not easy to find ; the rainy season was about to begin. That it was the end of the dry season is evident from the bush fires, which the Senegalese light at that time of the year to clear the forests of undergrowth, and fit the soil for such measures of elementary cultivation as they are able to practise. The best modern commentary upon Hanno's burning woods and mountains may be found in the modern French writer, M. Rouch, who was sent out on the cruiser "Chévigné," to explore the coast, and in particular the rivers of the French territory of Senegal.[1]

[1] See Rouch, *Sur les côtes de Sénégal*, Paris, 1925.

When the expedition came to the river which they call Dubréka, just north of the colony of Sierra Leone, they observed the array of mountains which rise at that point to a height of more than 1000 metres; to wit, "Mt. Kakulima, le dent de Dixime, les mamelles de Scumba, le Mont Terifiring." Now let us see what impression was made by this chain of mountains upon the observers:—

> "Every evening, in order to clear the ground, the natives set fire to the bush, and gave us the impressive spectacle of a conflagration of the mountain. Starting from the base of Mt. Kakulima, the fires ran up the slopes and made for the mountain a headgear of flames. You might have said that rivers of fire were ascending to their source. Then Mount Dixime was similarly set ablaze, and other summits even more remote."

One could hardly have a more vivid commentary upon the text of Hanno, and since we know on other accounts that the expedition reached Senegambia, we may venture the tentative identification of the burning mountains of Hanno with Kakulima to the north of Sierra Leone, or one of the lower and adjacent summits.[1] The mountain, *par éminence*, which Hanno describes, is known by the name of *Theōn Ochēma*, or *Chariot of the Gods*. It is not a burning mountain at ordinary times, but only at one particular season of the year. Any suggestion of a volcano may be set on one side. The reasons for its name have been set forth in the tract *St. Bees*, in which it is explained that the Egyptians divided the stars of the Northern hemisphere into circumpolar stars and stars which regularly rise and set. The former were under the dominion of that Prince of Darkness, Set,

[1] It is curious that Bruce (*Travels*, ii. 150) describes a similar practice to that of the Senegalese among an Abyssinian tribe called the *Shangalla*. With extravagance of language, which he must have learnt from the natives, he says they set fire to the whole of Africa, and this, he says, happens at the *end* of the rainy season. His exact language is as follows: "The grass, struck at the roots by the rays (of the sun) supports itself no more, but droops and becomes parched. To clear this away, the Shangalle set fire to it, which runs with incredible violence the whole breadth of Africa, passing under the trees, and following the dry grass among the branches with such velocity as not to hurt the trees, but to occasion every leaf to fall." The practice appears to be quite different from that in Senegambia, and I should not be prepared to identify Shangalla and Senegal, without further enquiry.

Is it possible that Bruce has made some confusion in his notes on the Galla tribes, and incorporated a parallel which does not belong to Abyssinia?

the adversary of Horus the good, who looked after the rest of the well-behaved stars, which rose and set like the Sun-god himself. Horus even told off his four sons to ride in the Waggon of the Bear and keep an eye on the doings of Set, the wicked one. From this point of view the stars of Ursa Major, especially the four which mark the four wheels of the Wain, are the *Chariot of the gods*. And since these stars are called in Egyptian lore by the name of *Akhemu*, we see that the Greek name which has come down to us in the text of Hanno is an imitation of an Egyptian word, almost an exact transcription. We have also tried to show that there was a special reason for the observation of the Great Bear at this point on the African coast, inasmuch as, to the traveller going south, whether by land or sea, the stars of the Bear, which had been circumpolar, cease to be so, and one by one, are reclaimed from the Kingdom of Set. It was shown, in the tract referred to, that this probably occurred, a phenomenon which Egyptian star-gazers would be quick to observe, in latitude 27° North, judging by the star-maps of to-day, but that in the year 1000 B.C. the conversion of the Waggon stars took place between 16° and 17° North ; this is very nearly the latitude of the mouth of the Senegal river.

Now let us digress for a moment from the topography of the West Coast of Africa to that of the British Isles. We have shown, in the tract called *Watling Street*, that there are two such streets, one celestial, the other terrestrial, each of them being a way to Elysium, a road of the gods or a pilgrim track of souls. The importance of this duality in the Milky Way, up there and down here, led to the conclusion that the famous Watling Street, which the Romans were credited with building, was in reality to be assigned to Egyptian engineers. That was a very important point gained in ancient British history. Now if we look at a map of what are called the Roman roads in Britain, we shall see that the old Bath road, which ran from St. Albans to Bath *via* Tring, was known by the name of *Akeman Street*. No satisfactory explanation has ever been made of this name. If, however, we are not prejudiced against the occurrence of a second Egyptian road on the map, we may see the *Akhemu* in the name of the street, and identify it in the sky, where it has its counterpart, with the road of the Wain of the gods, along which the sons of Horus used to drive, according to Egyptian tradition, later known as the Waggon of Woden. So we need not be surprised at the equation

of *Akhemu* and ὄχημα. It leads us to the clearing up of two topographical perplexities, one in Senegal, the other in the British Midlands.

Now let us see if we can get any light on the Gorilla Island.

We premise that, although the gorilla has probably disappeared from the West African islands, he is still very much in evidence on the mainland. Dr. Schweitzer, whose splendid mission work in Senegal on the Ogowe river has won all our hearts, tells me that the gorilla is to-day the chief danger to the negro populations in process of civilisation. One would have supposed it was the hippo or the elephant. One can catch something of the terror which he provokes in reading the reminiscences of that fascinating writer Aloysius Horn. One would like to quote but must refrain. The question is, whether there is any possibility of finding an island off the Senegalese coast, with a gorilla tradition. It has been common to identify the island we are in quest of with Sherboro Island to the north of Sierra Leone. Suppose we reserve our judgment on that point for the present, and continue our quest for Egyptian names.

We come, in the next place, to the discussion of the pair of names :—

Horn of the West,
Horn of the South.

We shall show that these are Egyptian terms.

In the opening of the *Book Am-Ṭuat* (see Budge, *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, p. 1) we have as follows :—

> "The writings and the drawings of the hidden palace which appertain to the souls, and the gods and the shadows and the spirits, which compose the Beginning of the Horn of Ȧment, of the horizon of Ȧment, (which is) the utmost boundary of the thick darkness of the horizon of Ȧmentet, etc."

Ȧmenti, Ȧmentet are the names of the West as the region of darkness to which souls must go on their way to the Elysian fields. The text explains definitely the term "Horn of the West" as meaning the utmost boundary or horizon of the West.

Accordingly, when we find in Hanno the term *Horn of the West*, that means *as far West as one can go*, and is a translation from the

Egyptian. In the same sense we must take *Horn of the South*, as being the point where one ceases to go South and turns East.

It is quite natural, then, to identify the *Horn of the West* as *Cape Verd*, which is the most westerly point of the African coast. The next question is as to the point where the coast ceases to run south or south-east and trends definitely east. It will require some care to determine this point, as it would appear to a primitive voyager. Meanwhile this much is perfectly clear. *These two names are Egyptian names*, and so we have two more stations defined on an Egyptian map which must be long anterior to the time of Hanno. If Hanno took these names from his interpreters, then the interpreters had knowledge of the names assigned by the early Egyptian colonists. It will be admitted that West Africa is acquiring a very definite Egyptian colour.

It will be observed that we are not entitled from the Egyptian expressions to explain Κέρας (Horn) as being a promontory. That may or may not be. Hanno uses in each case the term Κόλπος (bay). We shall probably have taken all meaning to which we are entitled out of the Egyptian nomenclature if we say "as far West as one can go," or "as far South;" in the case of Cape Verd, it happens to be a very decided promontory.

Our identification of *Cape Verd* with the *Horn of the West*, or most westerly point on the coast, can hardly be contested. From this point Diaz "now sailed on 'to a great cape, which he named Cape Verde,' a green and beautiful headland covered with grass and trees and dotted with native villages, running out into the Western Ocean far beyond any other land, and beyond which, in turn, there was no more Western coast, but only Southern and Eastern" (Beazley, *Prince Henry*, p. 221). It is, however, at first sight, not so easy to decide what point is meant by the *Horn of the South*. If it actually means the most southerly point on the Guinea Coast before one reaches the Niger or the bay of Benin, the map shows clearly that it is *Cape Palmas;* at the far end of the *Republic of Liberia*. There is no sensible variation in the direction of the African coast-line before this point is reached; and as we are dealing with Egyptian landmarks before the time of Hanno, we need not doubt that it was Cape Palmas that was intended, and have only to meet the obvious objections that Hanno does not seem to have gone quite so far, and that

there does not seem to have been any such bay as Hanno describes, with an island, or islands, farther along the coast than Sherboro Island and the associated inlets and waterways.

At this point it is well to remember what we noted at the very beginning of the *Periplus*, that we have not before us a uniform treatment of the voyage. The initial stages are congested ; the story is compressed ; five cities appear adjacent, and almost coincident, with no intervening distances. This is not history, neither is it geography. When we come to the other end of the voyage there are suggestions of similar compression, and there is no trace whatever of any incident that happened on the return voyage. This is more curious when we note in the middle of the *Periplus* that special attention is given to the fact that the expedition turned back, at a certain point, to the island of Cerne which they had left sometime previously. One would have thought that something would happen on the way back comparable in interest to the Gorilla incident ; but nothing does happen. The curtain comes down prematurely. The story was to be continued "in our next" ; the next issue did not appear. The tale was editorially foreshortened. "Supplies ran short" can be taken in more senses than one. We are face to face with an abbreviated record. If we like we may imagine that Hanno actually reached Cape Palmas ; and that the person who was responsible for the final redaction of the voyage equated Cape Palmas with Gorilla Island. It only remains to us to decide whether Hanno's account fits better with Sherboro Island or with one of the islands farther north, say with the Bissagos Islands off the Portuguese territory. We note in passing two points, first, that the Egyptian voyagers whose maps were being used and whose tracks were being followed, and whose colonies were being annexed, must have gone at least as far as Cape Palmas, and probably farther, so that we ought to find traces of them in the Niger area or even farther south ; second, that there was a special reason why Hanno paid so much attention to the islands off the west coast of Africa, as centres of colonisation ; the harbours, such as would naturally be formed at the mouths of the rivers are almost unapproachable, except in surf-boats, on account of the breakers caused by the swell of the Atlantic over sand-bars and other obstructions, so that even a little island called Cerne acquired an importance from its lying outside of the reefs or surf-barriers on the coast-line.

We come next to a very important question. As we have seen, it is not to be assumed that we have in the *Periplus* a complete account of the voyage, and we are entitled to ask whether Hanno visited any other Egyptian stations beside those which he mentions in our text, and whether we can identify any such stations which he might possibly have visited. The account is admittedly incomplete: is there any direction in which it is possible to complete it? It will probably be said at once that, even if we should identify some more Egyptian stations, we should have no right to insert them in the series of Hanno's locations. Suppose, however, that we find a series of Greek and Latin writers, Scylax, Polybius, Pliny, Mela and the like, who can be shown to be copying from Hanno as well as from one another, and that these writers show traces of Egyptian names beyond what we at present find in Hanno, will it not be possible, or even likely, that some of these names came from a more extended Hanno-Periplus than the one which we possess? We have already had something like this in the case of the first colony founded. It had an alternative name; we learnt that name from Polybius, who was quoting Hanno; and we showed that the name Sebur was genuine Egyptian and was the clue to the meaning of other associated names, such as *Thymiaterium* and *Antares*. A longer Hanno text might very well have mentioned it. No new station is indicated, but we should have found a new name for an old station. Such a text might have read:—

> "We founded our first city Thymiaterium; it lies high above a plain, *through which flows the river Sebur*."

Another case of equal importance from the point of view of Egyptian geography is that which I have discussed in the tract *Egypt and the Atlantic Seaboard*,[1] where it is shown that the river which flows down from Morocco city to the sea, along a valley whose modern name is *Wady Tensift*, was known to Ptolemy under the name of *Phthouth* or *Thouth*, and to Pliny and others as *Phouth* or *Fut*. The origin of all these latter forms was evidently Egyptian and implied that the river, or at least the mouth of the river, was named after the great Egyptian god *Thoth* or *Thouth* or *Theuth*

[1] Woodbrooke Essays No. 15 (Cambridge: Heffer).

(the primitive Egyptian form being something like *Tehuti*). Now it was clear that the geographers in question were working from an Egyptian name, the variant form *Fut* being easily derived from the other spelling. It was further noted that *Tensift* was an Egyptian form, hardly altered at all from *Ta-en-sept*, the *Land of the Dog-star*, *Sirius*, itself an Egyptian deity of the first order, and intimately allied to Thoth, since *Sirius*, by his time of heliacal rising, determined the beginning of the year, and *Thoth* gave his name to the first month of the year. The first Egyptian colonists who settled at this point arrived on New Year's Day, and gave the date to be the name of the place, in the same way as modern travellers might talk of *Rio Janeiro*, or *Christmas Island*. (This means that they landed somewhere about July 17th.)

Since, then, we know that the Greek and Latin geographers who have transmitted this name to us are using Egyptian forms, and are suspect, on other grounds, of having employed Hanno's *Periplus*, it is not unreasonable to suggest, as we have done above, that there may have been more Egyptian matter in the *Periplus* than has actually come down to us in what we have shown reason for describing as an abbreviated document.

Assuming that we have now established the fact of an Egyptian colonisation of West Africa, we are now going to indulge in a little speculation. If you please, let it be a chapter in the psychology of colonisation, an attempt to define the reasons why the Egyptians moved west, and what they expected to find there. To such enquiries it is not sufficient to say that they were seeking for commodities, say gold or pearls or coral, or even things to eat. As far as the latter need is concerned, the home market was sufficient, the home produce adequate ; and even if they went in search of other products, we need to remember that their grounds for appreciating such were not the same as ours ; the magical value of a pearl or a piece of amber or jet was what made it an object of quest, and not merely its rarity. The commercial quest was not the first impulse ; there was something prior to the lust of possession, viz., the innate force of the thing possessed.

There is another reason, again of a non-commercial kind, which was, no doubt, operating in the minds of the early explorers. They were seeking a country, of which they heard good words from their

teachers, some *Land of the Blest* or *Island of the Blest*, where one might, perhaps, find eternal youth and age-long happiness. It was the Earthly Paradise, more than its products, which they were in search of; and it was not only the Egyptian seeker who felt the impulse to such a quest, but probably the seekers of a hundred lands, dispersed over a hundred centuries. Now this is speculation; it means thinking back into prehistoric times, and trying to think in a prehistoric manner. From this point of view it is easy to see the attraction of the West African coast to the Egyptian navigator; to him the Canary Islands when reached would be the Blessed Isles that he was in search of, the Horn of the West of his sacred books. There is one direction in which we can get a little confirmation of the correctness of our point of view; the Egyptians did not all go West by water; some of them went overland, across the Western Soudan and the Northern or Southern Sahara. In this migration they came from time to time to oases, whose rest and refreshment suggested that the goal had actually been reached, and that here was the land that they were in search of. When the French, in their annexations on the frontiers of Morocco and Algiers, defined what they considered they had a right to, they took in, among other desirable acquisitions, the oasis of the *Ṭuat*. Had they any knowledge of the history of the name, and that it was the Egyptian name for the Other World? The coincidence of the name in the Sahara with that which occurs in Egyptian theology, can hardly be accidental. I take it to mean that Egyptian pilgrims in quest for their other life with Rā and Osiris had left this name for us on the map, and that we are entitled to infer that all the migrations westward on the part of the Egyptians were not made by sea. That is, as we have said, a speculation, but, as we hope, a reasonable one.

That our suggestion is not far from the truth may be seen by studying the descriptions of the other world or *Am Ṭuat* in Budge's book entitled *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell;* here in Book III., p. 58, we find the following statement:—

> "We see that the country of the blessed was rectangular in shape, and surrounded by water, and intersected by streams, and that, in addition to large tracts of land, there were numbers of eyots in it. In many pictures these eyots are confounded with

lakes, but it is pretty clear that the 'Islands of the Blessed' were either fertile eyots, *or oases which appeared to be green islands in a sea of sand.*"

OASIS.

The accuracy of Budge's description may be seen by turning to the pages of Herodotus, where he is recording the failure of Cambyses to make an expedition from Thebes to the temple of Zeus Ammon which he proposed to destroy, as an act of vengeance against the Ethiops who had offended him. The ill-fated design broke down ; the army of Cambyses had no supplies for an attempt of this kind ; Cambyses himself retired to Memphis, but Herodotus tells us that a detachment of his army after seven days' journey from Thebes reached a city called *Oasis*, and when they tried to get farther were overwhelmed by sand-storms and perished. The name of the district, says Herodotus, when translated into Greek, is *Island of the Blest*. So here we have an illustration of Budge's statement taken from ancient history.

The importance of the foregoing descriptions is evident : and it is clear that the Egyptians, in their westerly migrations, were not merely colonising in the modern sense of the term, as when a nation is relieving itself of its superfluous population or other countries of their superfluous wealth ; they were in search of the Earthly Paradise, of which they had traditional stories from their priests and pictorial representations in their *Books of the Dead.* In one form or another this is a very early human quest, and it will be remembered that it was not forgotten in mediæval times ; even down to the time of Columbus and the great explorers East and West there was a popular hope that one might find again the Fountain of Eden out of which the Four Rivers of Paradise were fed. Ponce de Leon discovered Florida while hunting for this fountain ; Newfoundland was christened as Avalon ; and generally speaking, the Book of Genesis was in mediæval times almost as good a guide book as the *Am Ṭuat* itself. What did it matter if the Most High had planted the Garden eastward ? People were already suspicious that West was East and East was West, even though the Pope was still dividing the world on the out-worn hypothesis that they were different ! But to return to Egypt, of whose western world Budge has given us a lucid summary and borrowed for us such an attractive picture, with the land well-watered and the grain growing

seven feet high. Looking at the picture, with the critical eye of one who wants to know how to recognise his Paradise when he comes to it, we are a little perplexed, as Dr. Budge himself is perplexed. It is made up of islands and lakes, the definition being exactly like the description in the child's book of geography, where the island is a portion of land surrounded by water, and the lake is a portion of water completely surrounded by land. It is clear from the Egyptian accounts that it is both ; that is to say, they were not sure which it was. Equally perplexing was the multiplicity of lakes and islands in the pictures. Perhaps it arose from the fact that every great city in Egypt expected to have a *Paradise* or *Ṭuat* of its own, from which unpleasant rivals might be excluded ; but it is reasonable to believe that the simpler conception is the earlier, though we may still be left in doubt whether the lake is in the island or the island in the lake.

Now when we read the *Periplus* of Hanno, or what survives of it in the Greek form, we shall be struck with a peculiar geographical want of proportion. Over and above the description of possible harbours, and of great rivers and lofty mountains and notable promontories, such as it is the natural business of an explorer to describe, we have a number of curious references to islands in which there were lakes and lakes in which there were islands. For instance, we are told (§ 9) that "we came to a lake and this lake had three islands in it," and again (§ 14) "in the bay was a great island, and in the island a lake of sea-water, and in this lake another island ;" again (§ 18) "in the nook of the bay was an island, like the former one, with a lake in it ; and in this lake, too, was an island." It need hardly be said that this is artificial geography, very like a series of Chinese boxes ; in so far as it is real, which may very well be matter of doubt, it is thrown into an artificial description. The people who write in this way are looking for islands in lakes or for lakes in islands. It is the *Ṭuat* over again which they are looking for, and which, perhaps, they think to have found.

It cannot be Hanno ; it must be his Egyptian forbears that have made the nucleus of the account ; for even if it should be conceded that Hanno, like the mediæval explorers, was seeking new lands, with an earthly Paradise at the back of his mind, this is no Carthaginian description. If the islands and lakes were as he professes to have found them, he must have been told where to look for them in his

Egyptian Admiralty Sailing Orders (including directions for overland travellers). One of them was inside the other, legend does not say which. In making, then, our identifications of the Hanno stations, we must not lay too much stress on details which need not be original, and the chief value of which is to establish our thesis of the dependence of Carthage upon Egypt. This does not mean that we disbelieve or doubt the Gorilla story, for have we not the ladies' skins hanging up at home in a public place? The zoologist will be able to tell us at a glance what particular species they belong to; the traveller will tell us that there are plenty of them still to be seen and avoided on the mainland.

Postscript.

It may, perhaps, be thought that in the foregoing speculations we were treating Hanno and his document too sceptically, and trying to undermine the solidity of the historical structure which the *Periplus* presents to our view. That is certainly not our intention. Our object is something like that of St. Paul when he knocked the Jewish law on the head, and then asked innocently, "Have we made void the Law? Heaven forbid! We have established it." Hanno will stand the firmer for being criticised, as all good documents do. We have only ventured to suggest an excrescence or two that needs to be removed, or at least allowed for in the interpretation. It was little more than an injunction to caution on the part of the reader, to keep him from making identifications which are not verifiable. The Egyptian background has to be dissociated from the Carthaginian painting. With this caution in our mind, we may now go over the *Periplus* again, and we shall find, in all probability, that the desired verifications can be made from another quarter. We may now turn from ancient Egypt to modern Portugal, where we find again the fever of discovery, and the passion of colonisation. The caravels of Prince Henry the Navigator followed the same route as the ships of Carthage, coasted along the shores in the same cautious manner, halted at the same anchorages, visited the same islands, used similar interpreters, and met with similar welcomes and unwelcomes from savage peoples. The accounts which Azurara and others give of the *Conquest of the Coast of Guinea* are the first and best commentary upon Hanno and his

story. It is probable that by reading the diffuse Portuguese side by side with the condensed Punic story we may find out all that can be reasonably expected in the restoration of the primitive outlines of the great voyage. For the present we may reserve this detailed comparison, being satisfied if we have established our theory of the priority of Egyptian colonisation to Carthaginian in West Africa.

Supplementary Note.

It has been suggested to me that there may be a historical reminiscence of the colonisation of W. Africa in the account which Nennius, the British historian, gives of the settlement of Ireland by invaders from the Mediterranean. According to Nennius (see *Hist. Britonum*, 15) the prime mover in that expedition was a certain Scythian, *who had been expelled from Egypt*, about the time of the Exodus of the Israelites. He wandered for years along the shores of the Mediterranean till he reached the *Altars of the Philistines* near the *Lake of Osiers*. After that he was said to have crossed the Tyrrhene Sea into Spain, from thence a later migration of his clan made their way to Ireland.

The reference to the *Altars* and the *Lake* may be due to an Egyptian expedition to W. Africa *ut supra*. The Scythian of Nennius does not, however, appear himself to have gone outside the Straits of Gibraltar. The reader must judge whether the parallels are accidental.

THE PERIPLUS OF HANNO,
KING OF THE CARTHAGINIANS,
IN THOSE LIBYAN REGIONS WHICH LIE
OUTSIDE THE PILLARS OF HERCULES;
OF WHICH ALSO HE DEPOSITED THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT
IN THE SANCTUARY OF KRONOS.

1. The Carthaginians decreed that Hanno should sail outside the Pillars of Hercules and found cities of the Libyo-Phœnician people. So he set sail in charge of sixty ships manned by fifty rowers apiece, with a multitude of men and women, some 30,000 in number, and with provisions and all other necessary outfit.

2. When we had weighed anchor and sailed by the Pillars, we made two days' sail beyond, and founded our first city, which we called Thymiaterium; below the city there was a wide plain.

3. After that we sailed away westward and came to Solois, a promontory of Libya, thickly covered with trees.

4. There we founded a chapel of Poseidon, and away again eastward for a half a day's journey, till we came to a lagoon lying not far from the sea-shore, packed with much tall reed, and in that swamp there are elephants and very many other beasts feeding.

5. Coasting by the lagoon for about a day's sail we colonised cities lying on the sea-board; the names of which are Karian Wall, Gytta, Akra, Melitta, and Arambys.

6. Sailing away from thence we came to a great river, the Lixus, which flows out of Libya. By the side of the river the Lixites, a nomadic people, were pasturing their flocks. As they were friendly,[1] we abode a while with them.

7. On the high ground beyond them were Ethiopians who were inhospitable, whose pasture land was infested by wild beasts and shut in by high mountains, said to be the source of the Lixus, which mountains were occupied by Troglodytes of another race; the Lixites said that these men could outrun horses.

[1] Cod.: as we were friendly.

8. From the Lixites we took interpreters and sailed by the Sahara southward for two days, after which our course lay eastward for one day. There we lighted on a little island in the corner of a bay, about five stadia in circumference. We made a colony there and called it Kerne. From the distance run we guessed that it lay on a line with Carthage, for the log of our run was the same from Carthage to the Straits as it was from the Straits to Kerne.

9. We then sailed past the mouth of a big river whose name was Chretes (? Chremetes), and came to a lake. This lake had three islands in it, any one of them bigger than Kerne. Leaving the islands we made a half-day's run and came to the nook of the lake, above which towered lofty mountains, thronged with savages, clad in skins of beasts; they pelted us with stones, and drove us away, not permitting us to disembark.

10. From hence we sailed on until we came to another river, great and wide, packed with Crocodile and Hippopotamus. We returned back at this point and came again to Kerne.

11. From thence we went southward for twelve days, keeping close to the coast, which was at every point occupied by Ethiops, who ran away and could not abide us; their talk was unintelligible even to our Lixite friends.

12. On the last day we landed under high woody mountains; the trees were of various colours and odoriferous.

13. We then passed the mountains in a two days' circuit and came to deep water, beyond our sounding lines, flanked on either side by level ground; at night we saw fires rising at intervals in all directions, some greaterand some lesser.

14. Here we took in water and sailed on along the coast for five days, until we came to a great bay, which the interpreters said was called *Horn of the West*. In this bay was a great island, and in the island a lake of brackish[1] water with another island lying therein. We disembarked, but saw nought but forest by day; at night, however, many fires were burning, and we heard the flutes and cymbals and the beating of drums, and no end of clatter. We took fright at this, and our augurs bid us leave the island.

15. As quick as might be we sailed away, coasting along a scorched land, reeking with odours; great streams of fire were flowing down into the sea; but the land was inaccessible owing to the heat.

[1] Water like sea-water.

16. We made haste away in fear, and sailed on for four days, descrying by night a country all on fire ; in the midst of which was one towering flame, high over all, as though it would reach the very stars. When day dawned we saw that it was a very lofty mountain, named the Chariot of the Gods.

17. From thence we sailed past the torrents of fire and in three days came to a bay called *Horn of the South.*

18. In the nook of the bay was an island, like the former one, with a lake in it ; in this lake, too, there was an island thronged with savages. Women were more in evidence than men ; they had hairy bodies, and our interpreters called them Gorillas. We chased the men, but could not catch them, as they all ran away, clambering up the cliffs and defending themselves with stones ; but we did catch three females, who were unwilling to follow their captors, whom they bit and scratched. So we killed them and flayed off their skins which we carried back to Carthage. As our supplies were now running short, we decided to go no further.

The Periplus of Hanno.

Ἄννωνος Καρχηδονίων βασιλέως περιπλους τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἡρακλέους Στήλας Λιβυκῶν τῆς γῆς μερῶν· ὃν καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου τεμένει, δηλοῦντα τάδε:

Ἔδοξεν Καρχηδονίοις, Ἄννωνα πλεῖν ἔξω Στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων, καὶ πολεῖς κτίζειν Λιβυφοινίκων· καὶ ἔπλευσεν πεντηκοντόρους ἑξήκοντα ἄγων· καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, εἰς ἀριθμὸν μυριάδων τριῶν· καὶ σῖτα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν· ὡς δ' ἀναχθέντες τὰς Στήλας παρημείψαμεν, καὶ ἔξω πλοῦν δυοῖν μερῶν ἐπλείσαμεν, ἐκτίσαμεν πρώτην πόλιν ἥντινα ὠνομάσαμεν Θυμιατήριον· πέδιον δ' αὐτῇ μέγα ὑπῆν· κἄπειτα πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀναχθέντες, ἐπὶ Σολόεντα Λιβυκὸν ἀκρωτήριον, λάσιον δένδρεσι συνήλθομεν· ἔνθα Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενοι, πάλιν ἐπέβημεν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ἡμέρας ἥμισυ· ἄχρι ἐκομίσθημεν εἰς λίμνην οὐ πόρρω τῆς θαλάττης κειμένην, καλάμου μεστὴν πολλοῦ καὶ μεγάλου· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαντες, καὶ τἄλλα θηρία νεμόμενα πάμπολλα· τήν τε λίμνην παραλλάξαντες ὅσον ἡμέρας πλοῦν κατῳκήσαμεν πόλεις πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καλουμένας, Καρικόν τε τεῖχος, καὶ Γύττην, καὶ Ἄκραν, καὶ Μέλιτταν, καὶ Ἄραμβυν· κἀκεῖθεν δ' ἀναχθέντες ἤλθομεν ἐπὶ μέγαν ποταμὸν Λίξον, ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης ῥέοντα· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Λιξῖται βοσκήματ' ἔνεμον παρ' οἷς ἐμείναμεν ἄχρι τινός, φίλοι γενόμενοι· τούτων δὲ καθ' ὑπερθεν Αἰθίοπες ᾤκουν ἄξενοι, γῆν νεμόμενοι θηριώδη διειλημμένην ὄρεσι μεγάλοις· ἐξ ὧν ῥεῖν φασὶ τὸν Λίξον, περὶ δὲ τὰ ὄρη κατοικεῖν ἀνθρώπους ἀλλοιομόρφους τρωγλοδύτας· οὓς ταχυτέρους ἵππων ἐν δρόμοις ἔφραζον οἱ Λιξῖται· λαβόντες δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἑρμηνέας παρεπλέομεν τὴν ἐρήμην πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δύο ἡμέρας· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πάλιν ἥλιον ἀνί-

πόλις Θυμιατήριον.

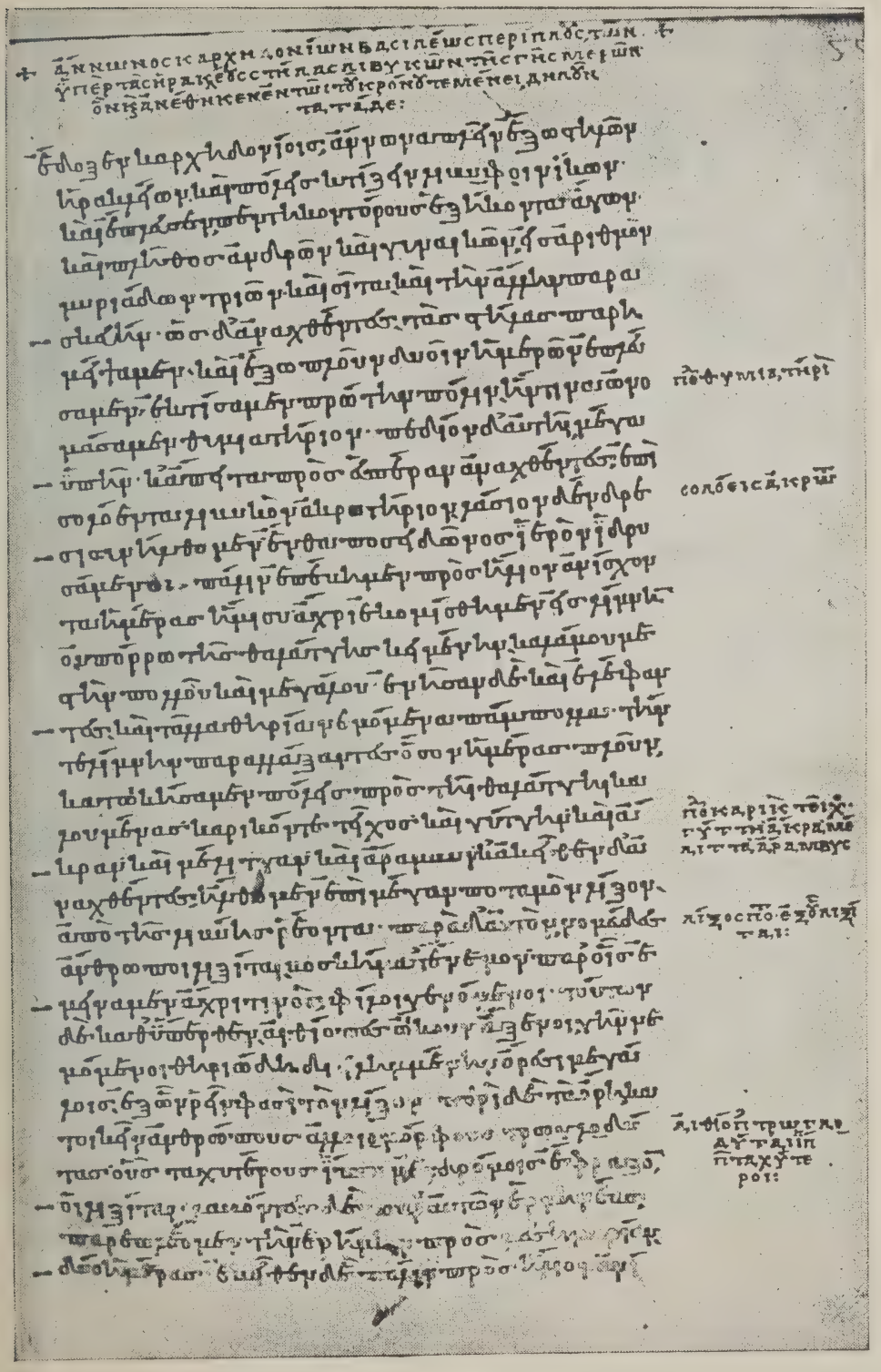
Σολόεις ἀκρωτήριον.

πόλεις Καρικὸν τεῖχος.

Γύττη καὶ Ἄκρα Μέλιττα Ἄραμβυς.

Λίξος ποταμός· ἐξ οὗ Λιξῖται.

Αἰθίοπες τρωγλοδόται ἵππων ταχύτεροι.



+ ἀννωνος καρχηδονίων βασιλέως περίπλους τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας ἃ ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸν χρόνον τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ:

πόθεν γυναῖκα τὴν

κόραις τοῖς χρυσοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα

λίθος πόδες ἐξῆλθε

ἀνθρώπου τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέρη τοῦ σώματος

σχοντα ἡμέρας δρόμον· ἔνθα εὕρομεν ἐν μυχῷ τινος κόλπου νῆσον μικράν, κύκλον ἔχουσαν σταδίων πέντε· ἣν κατῳκήσαμεν, Κέρνην ὀνομάσαντες· ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα δ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ περίπλου κατ' εὐθὺ κεῖσθαι Καρχηδόνος· ἐῴκει γὰρ ὁ πλοῦς ἔκ τε Καρχηδόνος ἐπὶ Στήλας κἀκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Κέρνην· τοὐντεῦθεν εἰς λίμνην ἀφικόμεθα διά τινος ποταμοῦ μεγάλου διαπλεύσαντες, Χρε⌈μέ⌉της· εἶχεν δὲ νήσους ἡ λίμνη τρεῖς μείζους τῆς Κέρνης· ἀφ' ὧν ἡμερήσιον πλοῦν κατανύσαντες εἰς τὸν μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ἤλθομεν ὑπὲρ ἣν ὄρη μέγιστα ὑπερέτεινεν, μεστὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀγρίων, δέρματα θήρεια ἐνημμένων· οἳ πέτροις βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν ἡμᾶς, κωλύοντες ἐκβῆναι· ἐκεῖθεν πλέοντες εἰς ἕτερον ἤλθομεν ποταμὸν μέγαν καὶ πλατύν, γέμοντα κροκοδείλων καὶ ἵππων ποταμίων· ὅθεν δὴ πάλιν ἀποστρέψαντες εἰς Κέρνην ἐπανήλθομεν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ μεσημβρίας ἐπλεύσαμεν δώδεκα ἡμέρας, τὴν γῆν παραλεγόμενοι, ἣν πᾶσαν κατῴκουν Αἰθίοπες, φεύγοντες ἡμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ὑπομένοντες, ἀσύνετα δ' ἐφθέγγοντο καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν Λιξίταις· τῇ δ' οὖν τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ προσωρμίσθημεν ὄρεσι μεγάλοις δασέσιν· ἦν δὲ τὰ τῶν δένδρων ξύλα εὐώδη τε καὶ ποικίλα· περιπλεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἡμέρας δύο ⌈ἐ⌉γινόμεθα ἐν θαλάττης χάσματι ἀμετρήτῳ ἧς ἐπὶ θάτερα πρὸς τῇν γῇ πέδιον ἦν ὅθεν νυκτὸς ἀφεωρῶμεν πῦρ ἀναφερόμενον πανταχόθεν κατ' ἀποστάσεις τὸ μὲν πλέον, τὸ δὲ ἔλαττον· ὑδρευσάμενοι δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπλέομεν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἡμέρας πέντε παρὰ γῆν ἄχρι ἤλθομεν εἰς μέγαν κόλπον ὃν ἔφασαν οἱ ἑρμηνέες καλεῖσθαι Ἑσπέρου κέρας.

περὶ Κέρνης τῆς νήσου.

λίμνη Χρέτης καὶ νήσοι ἐν αὐτῇ. τρεῖς.

ὄρη μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ἄνθρωπαι ἄγριοι.

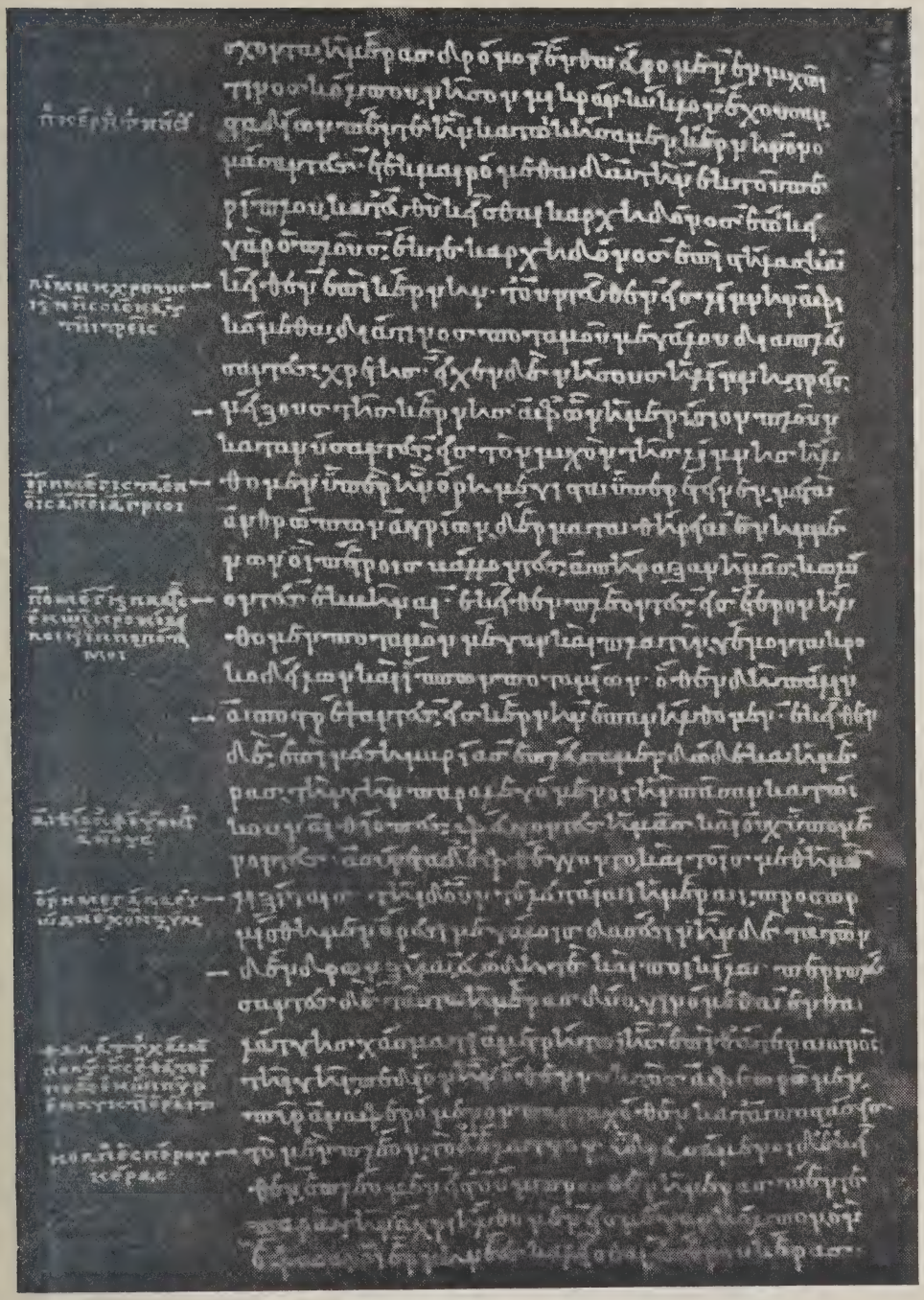
πόταμος μέγας καὶ πλάτυς ἐν ᾧ κροκόδειλοι καὶ ἱπποπόταμοι.

Αἰθίοπες φεύγοντες ἀνθρώπους.

ὄρη μεγάλα εὐώδην ἔχοντα ξύλα.

θαλάττης χάσμα πολύ· ἧς ἐπὶ θάτερα πέδιον ἐν ᾧ πῦρ ἐν νυκτὶ ὁρᾶτο.

κόλπος Ἑσπέρου κέρας.



νῆσος μεγάλη ἐν ᾗ λίμνη θαλασσώδης ἐν ᾗ ἑτέρα νῆσος.

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ νῆσος ἦν μεγάλη· καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ λίμνη θαλασσώδης· ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ νῆσος ἑτέρα· εἰς ἣν ἀποβάντες ἡμέρας μὲν οὐδὲν ἀφεωρῶμεν ὅτι μὴ ὕλην·

Cῃ τὰ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον πυρὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων φωνάς.

νυκτὸς δὲ πυρά τε πολλὰ καιόμενα· καὶ φωνὴν αὐλῶν ἠκούομεν κυμβάλων τε καὶ τυμπάνων πάταγον καὶ κραυγὴν μυρίαν· φόβος οὖν ἔλαβεν ἡμᾶς· καὶ οἱ μάντεις ἐκέλευον ἐκλείπειν τὴν νῆσον.

χώρα διάπυρος θυμιαμάτων.

ταχὺ δ' ἐκπλεύσαντες παρημειβόμεθα χώραν διάπυρον θυμιαμάτων μεστ(ήν)· οἱ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πυρώδεις ῥύακες ἐνέβαλλον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν· ἡ γῆ δ' ὑπὸ θέρμης ἄβατος ἦν· ταχὺ οὖν κἀκεῖθεν φοβηθέντες ἀπεπλεύσαμεν· τεττάρας δ' ἡμέρας φερόμενοι νυκτὸς τὴν γῆν ἀφεωρῶμεν φλογὸς μεστήν· ἐν μέσῳ δ' ἦν ἠλίβατόν τι πῦρ τῶν ἄλλων μεῖζον ἁπτόμενον ὡς ἐδόκει τῶν ἄστρων.

γῆ νυκτὶ μεστὴ πυρός.

ὄρος Θεῶν ὄχημα οἷον ἠλίβατόν τι πῦρ.

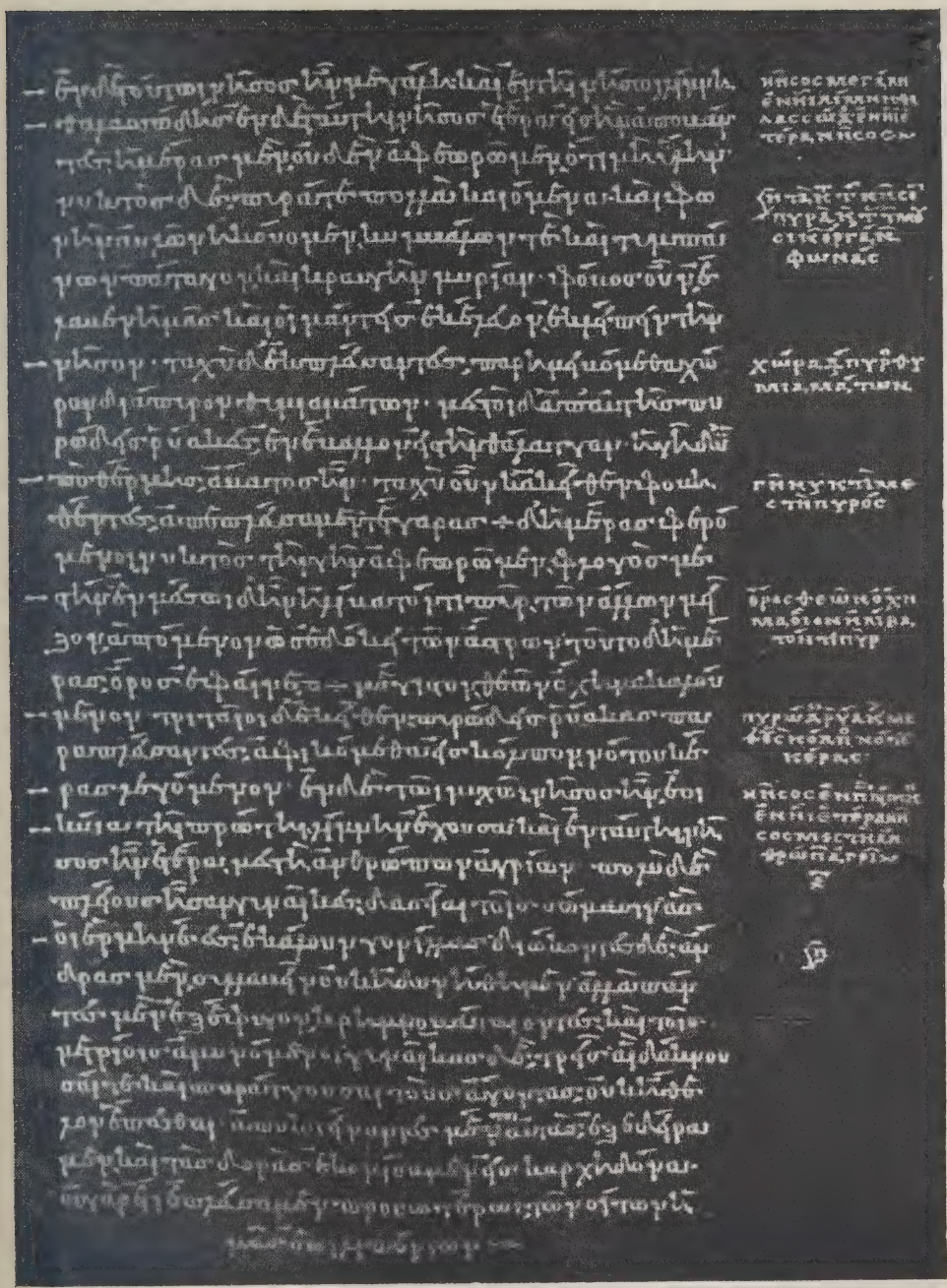
πυρώδεις ῥύακες μεθ' οὓς κόλπος Νότου κέρας.

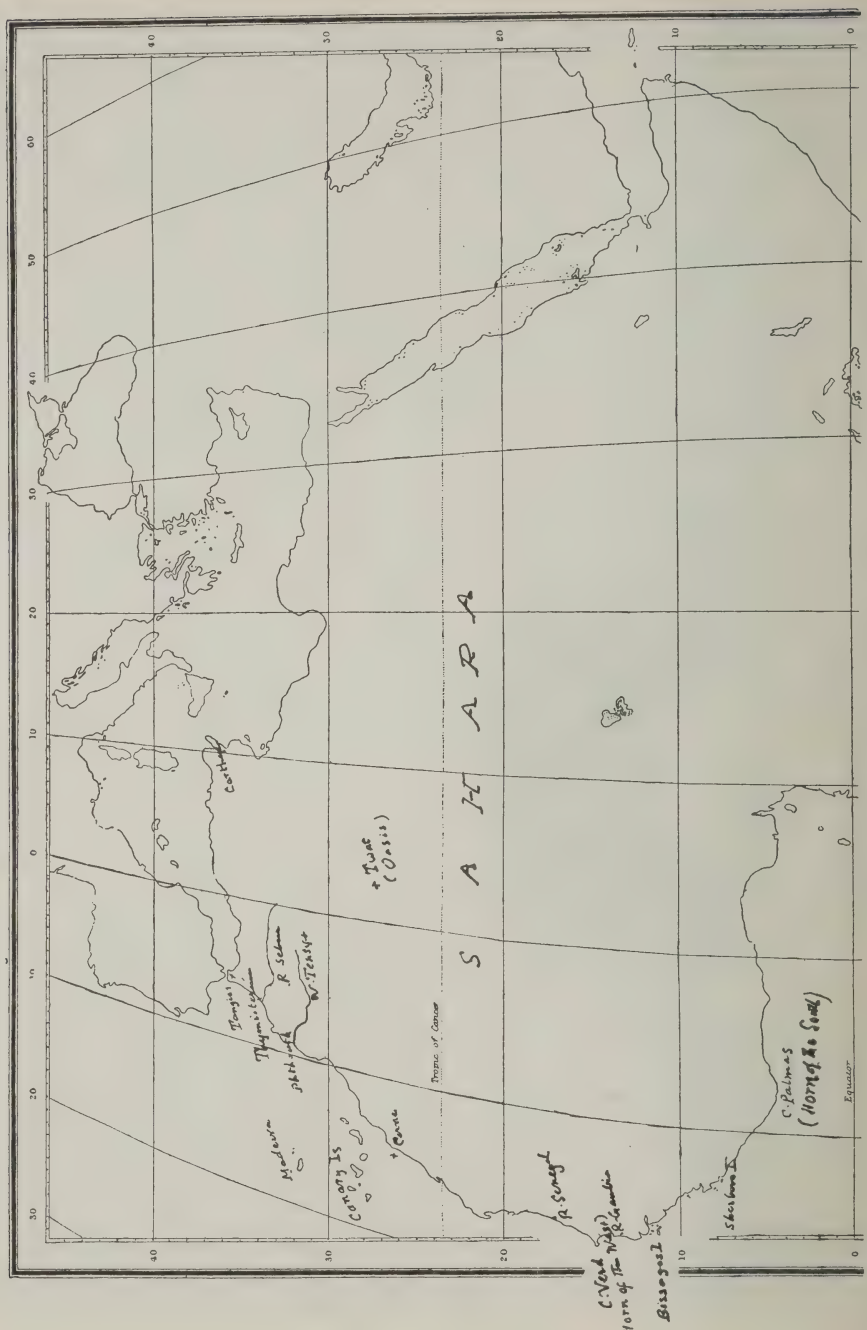
τοῦτο δὲ ἡμέρας ὄρος ἐφαίνετο μέγιστον, Θεῶν ὄχημα καλούμενον· τριταῖοι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν πυρώδεις ῥύακας παραπλεύσαντες ἀφικόμεθα εἰς κόλπον, Νότου κέρας λεγόμενον· ἐν δὲ τῷ μυχῷ νῆσος ἦν, ἐοικυῖα τῇ πρώτῃ, λίμνην ἔχουσα, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ νῆσος ἦν ἑτέρα, μεστὴ ἀνθρώπων ἀγρίων· πολὺ δὲ πλείους ἦσαν γυναῖκες, δασεῖαι τοῖς σώμασιν ἃς οἱ ἑρμηνέες ἐκάλουν γορίλλας· διώκοντες δέ, ἄνδρας μὲν συλλαβεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν, ἀλλὰ πάντες μὲν ἐξέφυγον κρημνοβάται ὄντες καὶ τοῖς πέτροις ἀμυνόμενοι, γυναῖκας δὲ τρεῖς· αἳ δάκνουσαί τε καὶ σπαράττουσαι τοὺς ἄγοντας, οὐκ ἤθελον ἕπεσθαι· ἀποκτείναντες μέντοι αὐτάς, ἐξεδείραμεν, καὶ τὰς δορὰς ἐκομίσαμεν εἰς Καρχηδόνα· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐπλεύσαμεν προσωτέρω τῶν σίτων ἡμᾶς ἐπιλιπόντων.

νῆσος ἐν ᾗ λίμνη ἐν ᾗ ἑτέρα νῆσος μεστὴ ἀνθρώπων ἀγρίων.

Cῃ

Line 9, Cod. *μεστοί*: emend. Müller, *μεστήν, μέγιστοι.*
Line 26, Cod. *μετρίοις*: emend. Gessner.





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